

## Message Text

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53

ACTION SS-25

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R 111255Z FEB 75

FM AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2826

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

USMISSION GENEVA

AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY KUWAIT

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L BEIRUT 1945

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, IS, PLO, XF

SUBJ: ISRAEL'S PALESTINIAN DILEMMA, AND VICE-VERSA

REF: TEL AVIV 853

SUMMARY: ISRAELI REFUSAL TO HAVE ANYTHING TO DO WITH PLO IS COMPLEMENTED, IN OUR VIEW, BY PLO'S OWN HANGUPS ABOUT DEALING WITH ISRAEL. SEEMS CLEAR THAT NEITHER PARTY, IF LEFT TO THEIR OWN DEVICES, IS LIKELY TO DO ANYTHING CALCULATED TO REDUCE CURRENT FROZEN STATE OF ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN RELATIONS. END SUMMARY.

1. WE FOUND ANALYSIS CONTAINED REFTEL MOST INSTRUCTIVE AND TIMELY, AND WE LOOK FORWARD TO READING MORE DETAILED AIRGRAM WHICH FOLLOWS IT. IN MEANTIME, WE WISH RECORD OUR AGREEMENT WITH ASSESSMENT CONTAINED PARA 7  
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REFTEL--I.E., THAT IT NOT REALISTIC TO EXPECT THAT

PLO LEADERSHIP IN FORESEEABLE FUTURE WILL TAKE ANY INITIATIVE THAT MIGHT HELP LOOSEN CURRENT PALESTINIAN-ISRAELI LOGJAM BY EXPRESSING, IN CLEAR AND UNMISTAKABLE (I.E., PUBLIC) TERMS, ITS WILLINGNESS TO RECOGNIZE ISRAEL.

2. THIS DOES NOT RPT NOT NECESSARILY MEAN THA SO-CALLED PLO "MODERATES" HAVE GIVEN UP THEIR AMBITION TO ASSOCIATE THEMSELVES SOMEHOW WITH ME SETTLEMENT PROCESS IN HOPES OF ESTABLISHING "NATIONAL AUTHORITY" IN PART OF OLD PALESTINE (AND IN GAINING SOME STATUS, INFLUENCE AND PERSONAL ADVANTAGE IN IT FOR THEMSELEVES). WE CONTINUE BELIEVE THAT 'ARAFAT ANC CO., FOR TIME BEING AT LEAST (SEE OUR 1627), REMAIN WILLING TO ACCEPT ESISTENCE OF AND LIVE IN CO-EXISTENCE WITH STATE OF ISRAEL IN CONTEXT OF SETTling FOR WHAT THEY CAN GET OUT OF SOME NEGOTIATED ME PEACE SETTLEMENT. AT SAME TIME, HOWEVER, (LEAVING TACTICAL MOTIVES ASIDE) THEY THINK THEY HAVE GONE AS FAR AS THEY DARE--WITHIN LIMITATIONS IMPOSED ON THEIR FREEDOM OF ACTION BY LATENT ANTI-ISRAEL FEELING THAT STILL EXISTS AMONG PALESTINIAN (AND OTHER ARAB) "MASSES" AND FEDAYEEN RANK-AND-FILE IN GENERAL, AND BY THREATS AND PRESSURES GENERATED BY "REJECTIONIST" PALESTINIAN LEADERS IN PARTICULAR--IN PUBLICLY INDICATING THEIR READINESS TO ACCEPT REALITY OF ISRAEL'S EXISTENCE. WHILE THEY MAY PRIVATELY REGARD (AS MANY OF THEM DO) 'ARAFAT'S "DREAM" OF A DEMOCRATIC SECULAR STATE EMBRACING ALL OF PALESTINE AS A PRACTICAL IMPOSSIBILITY IN BOTH SHORT AND LONG TERM, PLO "MODERATES" ARE NOT RPT NOT LIKELY TO SAY SO OPENLY IN TERMS THAT WOULD REASSURE ISRAELE OFFICIAL AND PUBLIC OPINION.

3. THIS PLO HANG-UP, MOREOVER, IS NOT RPT NOT SIMPLY A TEMORARY PHENOMENON DICATED BY TACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS OF TRANSITORY PALESTINIAN EMOTIONS. EVEN IF ISRAELI LEADERSHIP COULD SOMEHOW FIND ITS WAY CLEAR TO DEAL WITH PLO "MODERATES", 'ARAFAT AND CO. WOULD STILL BE INHIBITED BY FEAR THAT SUCH DEVELOPMENTS AS (A) NEGOTIATIONS WITH ZIONIST "ENEMY", (B) FEDAYEEN ASSOCI-

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ATION WITH SETTLEMENT EFFORT, AND (C) ESTABLISHMENT OF "RUMP" PALESTINIAN STATE IN WEST BANK/GAZA COULD NOT BE SOLD TO FEDAYEEN RANK-AND-FILE AND PALESTINIAN "MASSES" UNLESS THEY WERE PRESENTED IN TERMS CONSISTENT WITH UNREALISTIC, BUT DEEPLY ROOTED MYTH-ASPIRATIONS OF "LIBERATION" AND "RETURN" WHICH PALESTINIAN HAVE NURTURED FOR PAST 27 YEARS. IN OTHER WORDS, PLO LEADERSHIP--EVEN CONFRONTED BY UNEXPECTED ISRAELI MAGNANIMITY--

WOULD PROBABLY FIND ITSELF OBLIGED TO PORTRAY ABOVE  
DEVELOPMENTS AS FURTHER "VICTORIES" WHICH OBSTRUCT RE-  
TURN OF PALESTINIAN SOIL TO JORDANIAN CONTROL AND/OR  
WHICH PROVIDED STEPPING-STONE TOWARD "LIBERATION OF  
ENTIRE PALESTINIAN HOMELAND" AT SOME VAGUE POINT IN  
FUTURE.  
GODLEY

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## Message Attributes

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